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Social Progress

*Gambling—
Who Wins?*

APRIL 1955

Social Progress

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CONTENTS : APRIL, 1955

	PAGE
From This Vantage Point	1
Articles	
Fifty Million Americans <u>CAN</u> Be Wrong, by <i>H. B. Sissel</i>	5
The Louisiana Lottery Threat, by <i>Eliot Porter</i>	13
The Development of the United Nations Charter, by <i>Francis O. Wilcox</i>	15
Sanctuary	
"The Lord Is Risen," by <i>Edward K. Trejz</i>	20
Christian Action	
It Can Be Done.....	22
UN News Notes.....	24
Citizenship.....	26
About Books	29

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FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

The Ground on Which We Stand

A BASIC conviction of the Christian faith (according to the Presbyterian tradition) is that "man's chief end is to glorify God. . . ." This implies not only the worship of God but also the service of God in all realms of life.

Another basic conviction is that God's Kingdom *is coming*. We believe (1) that we live in a world which is under God's dominion, but which, having refused to acknowledge his divine rule, is still largely ruled by antdivine, demonic powers; (2) that in Christ God has already won the decisive *battle* in establishing his Kingship, but that the *war* is still being waged in the world; and (3) that in Christ God calls us to serve under him in the conflict with the powers of evil.

This means for us in 1955 that it is not a Christian interpretation of life to say that our world is pretty good and only needs some improvements. Our world is ridden by demonic forces such as the spirit of conformity, Communism, racism, nationalism, and other forms of totalitarian idolatry.

A major implication of this view is that neither the Church as a body, nor Christians as individuals, can be neutral toward the "superpersonal forces of evil" in our world. We must take sides in the struggle between Light and Darkness. Churches and individual Christians who seek to "glorify God" *only* through hymns and prayers and "living a good life" are sinning against their God.

(*From report of Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.*)

Something to Think About

THE admission of Red China to the United Nations is an extremely controversial issue. The feeling quite generally has been against the idea. A resolution on the subject was adopted by the Senate and the House on June 4, 1953, as follows: "It is the sense of the Congress that the Communist Chinese Government should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations as the representative of China."

The issue is still inflammatory, but some people in American public life are beginning to say that they believe that Red China would be more tractable and more responsive to world opinion if it were *in* rather than *out* of the United Nations. The present administration seems willing to have a rather open mind on the question—provided Communist China shows real evidence of a change of heart and purpose.

A proposal has been made recently which may have real merit. It is to the effect that (1) India be given the permanent seat on the Security Council of the United Nations now occupied by Nationalist China, and that (2) Red China be admitted to UN membership, without a seat on the Security Council and without supplanting Nationalist China in the UN.

It is well argued that India, by virtue of her practical neutrality with respect to the two Governments of China, is better able to speak for and represent the interests of the ancient peoples of Asia than any other Asian Government. As a permanent member of the Security Council India could do more than any other nation to ease the tensions of the East.

We do not know enough to urge this as the sure solution of the bewildering Asian problem, but many think the proposal has real value. We commend it as something for you to think about; you may even want to write about it to your Congressmen.

Concerning the Christian Woman

PRESBYTERIAN women's groups throughout the country are using a splendid study guide, *The Christian Woman and Her Household*, which was written by Margaret Kuhn and published by the Women's Departments of the Boards of Christian Education, Foreign Missions, and National Missions. The guide contains four programs on the economic responsibilities of Christians: (1) women and economics; (2) the teachings of the Church about economics—work, property, goods, and trade; (3) Christian women as consumers—goods and the good life; and (4) Christians and their economic responsibilities. We have received many very favorable reports about the use of this material.

In a half-dozen instances, however, local leaders have said that *The Christian Woman and Her Household* is "socialistic" in its emphasis. In fact it was recently attacked as such in a public meeting (not a church gathering) in a Southern state.

The suspicion apparently focuses on an opinionnaire which is used in

connection with the first of the four studies in the pamphlet, on pages 9 and 10. The purpose of the opinionnaire is to determine the range of attitudes among the members of the group using the study guide at the beginning of the first session. Under each of nine headings several statements are made expressing different, often contradictory, points of view. Each person in the group is asked to check the phrase that coincides most nearly with her opinion. The trouble is that some people, apparently not understanding what an opinionnaire is or is for, have assumed that each of the statements is the "teaching" of the pamphlet. It took us a long time to realize that some people are thus capable of misunderstanding and misusing the opinionnaire even though its proper use is clearly stated.

Apparently in these days of social heresy hunting, one must put a disclaimer in every paragraph he writes or run the risk of being misquoted.

Our Duty as Citizens

IN THE area of Christian citizenship the basic problem is that of the relation between the Church and the State. The doctrine of "separation of Church and State" makes sense to Christians if it means that no denomination or local church should exercise political power that is denied to other groups. On the other hand, this doctrine is completely unacceptable to Christians if it is interpreted to mean that denominations and local churches should keep silence on political issues. If the purpose of "politics" is to strive for that which is good for the community, the state, the nation, and the world, then churches and Christians should be concerned about politics (at least to the extent of trying to define the standards of "good"). Though the Church should not engage in partisan politics (i.e., identify its positions with those of any party), it should seek at all levels to act as the conscience of the community—local, state, national, and world. Denominations and local congregations should speak out on issues that have religious or ethical implications.

It must be said that there is no single straight line running directly from the gospel to a Christian position on many of the complicated issues of our day. Of only a few issues can it be said that there is but one Christian position (e.g., segregation). On many other matters, such as war, divergent Christian views are possible. In the Presbyterian Church all judicatories and local church congregations have the right and the duty to study and discuss social issues that may be called "controversial." They have the further right, and in the case of the General Assembly, the duty, to reach democratic group

decisions about Christian positions in regard to any of these social issues.

Church members should be encouraged to look upon service within a particular political party as an effective method for Christians to witness and work at a practical level of group government. At the same time, they should be encouraged to ask themselves questions like: Can I as a Christian be a Republican? Can I as a Christian be a Democrat? And they should become increasingly sensitive to the fact that the answer can never be an unequivocal yes or no. In relation to the party's stand on particular issues, the Christian's answer would sometimes be no. But in the sense that walking out of the party means making the Christian faith irrelevant, his answer would be yes. In any case, the Christian's participation in party politics will be punctuated by continual prayers to God for forgiveness and will take place in dependence upon divine guidance.

Christians should know that the greatest danger in politics is idolatry. This danger is actualized not only when we talk about outstanding figures in terms of "gods" or "devils" but when we let partisan politics or political loyalties play a larger role in our attitudes and decisions than does our loyalty to the living God.

(From report of Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.)

Preview

WE THINK you will like the article on gambling (pages 5-12) by Rev. H. B. Sissel, Associate Secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action. This article is being republished as a pamphlet, appropriately illustrated with some thirty or thirty-five line drawings, in the manner of *Vegetables and People* and *Ethyl Is Not a Lady*.

The article on the United Nations Charter, on pages 15-19, is must reading for everyone interested in world affairs. It deals with the question that will appear automatically in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly next September, Shall a conference be convened for the review and possible revision of the Charter?

One way to achieve peace of mind is to avoid problems. We recommend the formula on page 32 of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS—or do we?

—Clifford Earle

Fifty Million Americans

CAN Be Wrong

By H. B. SISSEL,

Associate Secretary,

Department of Social Education and Action,
Presbyterian Board of Christian Education



GAMBLING takes many forms—

Betting on the horses
Shooting craps
Playing the numbers

Planting a crop
Investing in a business
Getting married

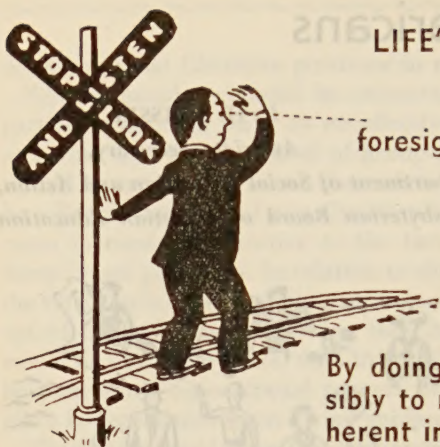
... or just crossing the street.

If gambling means staking something of value on a future unpredictable event,

then ... **WE ARE ALL GAMBLERS.**

"We know not what a day may bring forth."

From birth to death we must contend with the element of chance or unpredictability.



LIFE'S UNAVOIDABLE GAMBLES

Can be met with prudence,
foresight, and responsibility—

We can exercise reasonable
care and intelligence

Use scientific knowledge

Seek experienced counsel

Take out insurance

By doing these things we act responsibly to reduce the hazard that is inherent in the "gamble" of life itself.

BUT SOME GAMBLES ARE NOT INHERENT IN LIFE

They are man-made to provide—

Innocent and harmless amusement

Wholesome recreation

Thrills

Possible big and easy money

THESE SYNTHETIC GAMBLES MAY BE—

Private or public

Legal or illegal

Spontaneous or organized

Innocent or harmful

Honest or dishonest

WE CANNOT DEFINE PRECISELY

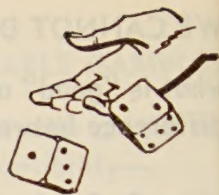
what is "good" and what is "bad" gambling. But we sense the difference between - -

- Betting \$10.00 on tomorrow's weather
and
- Planting a crop which depends upon the weather
 - Investing money in a business
and
 - Speculating on the stock
market
- Paying to watch a football game
and
- Buying a chance in a football "pool"
- Playing Scrabble in one's home
and
- Playing bingo
in a
public
hall.



WE CAN BE SURE

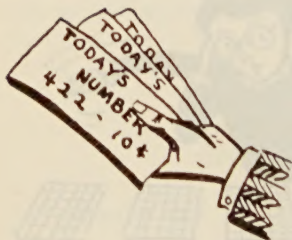
that, in the long run, organized
public gambling,
whether legal or not —



- Is "gimmicked" against the player
- Produces social and economic dislocation
- Leads to political bribery and corruption
- Promotes organized crime and racketeering
- Benefits no one except the operator.

THESE THINGS WE KNOW,

YET...



50,000,000 Americans gamble regularly against odds and
gimmicks that make it impossible for them to win.

26,000,000 play bingo and participate in
lotteries, raffles, and sports pools.

22,000,000 play dice and cards for money.

19,000,000 bet on the outcome of athletic contests or
political elections involving two contestants.

15,000,000 buy chances to win merchandise
on punchboards.

14,000,000 play the slots.

8,000,000 finance the policy or numbers rackets.

8,000,000 play the horses at the track, while
millions more wager illegally with bookmakers.

These gullible citizens contribute 15 billion dollars annually to finance the nation-wide interlocking work of organized crime syndicates.

The money comes from

The occasional, casual gambler

The habitual, small-time gambler

The compulsive, neurotic gambler.

SOME PEOPLE, including both professional gamblers and certain church groups, BELIEVE THAT LEGALIZED GAMBLING IS THE ANSWER.

BUT IT'S BEEN TRIED AND FOUND WANTING

State after state has experimented with legalized gambling, only to reject it because of the social, economic, and political evils that followed.

- The poor, who could least afford it, were hardest hit.
- Unscrupulous racketeers and promoters always moved in.
- Political influence was bought and sold, public officials bribed.
- Crime and corruption increased.
- Even "charitable and religious" lotteries became the tools of hoodlums and professionals.

Every single responsible study of PUBLIC GAMBLING has shown that IT STANDS CONDEMNED BEFORE THE BAR OF HISTORY

From ancient Egypt —

to Elizabethan England

to colonial America

to contemporary United States





THE QUARTER OR TWO DOLLARS spent by the American citizen, Christian or otherwise,

For a chance at the "numbers"

For a horse in the third race

For a bingo card

For a ticket in a raffle

STANDS A GOOD CHANCE of eventually—

Becoming part of a political bribe

Being used to corrupt a police officer

Financing a dope or prostitution ring

Ending up in a racketeer's bank account.

YOU CAN'T WIN!

PUBLIC GAMBLING

can be controlled
and eliminated
by

- Laws
- Enforcement of the laws
- Public support of those who enforce the laws.



THE CHURCH MUST LEAD THE WAY by



1. Getting the facts
2. Educating its members to the facts
3. Bearing witness in public life
4. Communicating its position to public officials

5. Teaching the meaning of the stewardship of life.

This is an abridged preview of a pamphlet now in preparation. The factual information is based on data in the May, 1950, issue of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. *Fifty Million Americans CAN Be Wrong* may be ordered from your nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service, 25 copies, 75 cents.

The Louisiana Lottery Threat

By ELIOT PORTER, *Chaplain, Presbyterian Hospital,
Denver, Colorado*

THE reason the Louisiana State Lottery survived a slow start in 1868 and then forged ahead of five nearby state lotteries must have been the boundless audacity of its promoters, Messrs. Morris and Howard. They bought the Louisiana Legislature for something like \$300,000 and had it write the legality of the lottery into the state constitution. Legislators who had, in the lean post-Civil War days, arrived in the capital threadbare, blossomed overnight as resplendent as tailors could make them. One honest legislator refused bribes smuggled into his coat or under his hat or dropped from windows as he passed, and even \$20,000 he found under his plate at a political breakfast. Another lawmaker, elected on a pledge to oppose the lottery, voted for it, and, dying soon after, was found by the undertaker to have been carrying \$18,000 in currency in a money belt strapped beneath his clothing.

Yet all over New Orleans Messrs. Morris and Howard were treated with profound respect. They employed, at \$30,000 a year each, two idolized ex-Confederate generals to preside at the semiannual drawings and to allow their signatures to be

printed on the tickets. But Morris and Howard took care of the money themselves.

The lottery drawings were on the level, and winners were paid in full. Stockholders received dividends annually of as high as 170 per cent. But no one knows to this day how much Morris and Howard siphoned off for themselves. The books were never made public and were finally burned by the officials of the company.

Gross receipts rose to \$50,000,000, and the profit was enormous, due to the freakish fact that if you offer people chances at a large enough prize, they will fight to get them no matter how thin you slice the chance that any one of them will win the prize. One twenty-five-cent Louisiana State Lottery ticket for one fortieth of a share in the prize, if its number were drawn, meant one chance in about 67,000 of winning \$1,200.

Considering the filth, disease, and poverty in New Orleans in the years following the Civil War, it is not surprising that its people succumbed to a glassy-eyed obsession over the opportunity to win, for a small sum, a chance for top prize at the semi-

annual drawing of the lottery; indeed, it was said that in New Orleans all other business came to seem paltry and incidental to this chance every six months to be lifted to easy affluence.

People traveled from all over the nation to witness the gala drawings. Newspaper writers arrived to report the event in glowing terms—and always with respect and praise for Messrs. Morris and Howard. Hawkers of lottery tickets swarmed the streets, or sat at tables in front of stores—and even of churches—where room for a table was leased, in the best positions, for several thousands of dollars. Even children walked about with strings of tickets on wires for purchasers to pull whatever one struck their fancy. If you dreamed of fish, you played one number; if you saw a strange dog, another.

Morris and Howard, meantime, poured ever-larger funds into advertising over the whole country, and bought stock in the most influential newspapers. And some people believed they even bought judicial opinions in favor of their lottery, so regularly did they win in court.

Many patrons of the lottery were ruined, of course, and some took their own lives. Some were convicted of embezzling funds to buy tickets. Postal clerks filched funds from the flood of money in the mails. Even winners could be ruined—"easy come, easy go"—and one almost

penniless and nondrinking winner from the hills took to liquor so strongly that he hired boys in relays to pour it down his throat whenever he so far regained consciousness as to show signs of life. Finally, he ceased to show any signs of life at all.

By this time the lottery could do as it chose in Louisiana. It elected one governor at a paltry cost of \$40,000. But lottery business was by this time 90 per cent from outside the state. The influence of the lottery was felt in every section of the country, especially in the state legislatures.

Opposition to the lottery grew so strong that Congress threatened its existence as early as 1878. Howard rushed to Washington and blundered when he hired the brother-in-law of the Secretary of State to fight the proposed antilottery legislation, and the fact leaked out. Howard died, but Morris fought on. Then a libel suit against a newspaper editor, filed by a new partner of Morris, proved a fiasco and had to be withdrawn. National opinion finally swung against the lottery, and in 1890 Congress passed legislation that doomed it. It struggled on a few years, was moved to a minute state in Central America, and died in 1893.

Yet people still propose to legalize lotteries!

Reprinted from *Forward*, May 16, 1954. Copyright, 1954, by W. L. Jenkins. Used by permission.

The Development of the United Nations Charter

By FRANCIS O. WILCOX, *Chief of Staff, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. This article consists of excerpts selected by the Editors from a staff study prepared by the author for the Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter*

IN SOME respects the Charter of the United Nations is much like the Constitution of the United States. Both are written in form and both would be classified by political scientists as fairly "rigid" in character because they contain rather difficult amendment procedures. The Charter, like the Constitution, was designed to lay a broad base for an institution which might develop to meet changing needs. And the Charter, like the Constitution, has proven flexible enough to be adapted without formal amendment.

It is important to keep this fact in mind when the problem of Charter revision is under consideration. In the eight years of UN existence not a single formal amendment has even so much as reached the final voting stage in the General Assembly. Even so, many far-reaching changes have taken place within the UN system. Some important articles of the Charter have already fallen into disuse. Others have been applied in a way that the San Francisco drafters did not contemplate.

We are by no means examining the Charter that was drafted in San Francisco in 1945. We are examining the Charter of 1954 as it has been amplified by custom and usage, resolutions of the various UN organs, and treaties, like the Atlantic Pact, which are consistent with the Charter and have a heavy impact on the UN system. If we should proceed now to consider amendments to the old Charter rather than the new, it would be much like a surgeon planning a major operation on the basis of a diagnosis made nine years ago.

Informal Charter Changes

The Charter has been subjected to what one might call informal amendments in a variety of ways: (1) through the nonimplementation or nonapplication of certain provisions of the Charter; (2) through the interpretation of the Charter by various organs and members of the UN; (3) through the conclusion of supplementary treaties or agreements; and (4) through the creation of special organs and agencies.

I. In a number of instances organs or members of the UN have disregarded or have failed to implement certain Charter provisions. As a result several articles which the framers believed were highly important in making the UN an effective instrumentality for world peace have already fallen into disuse.

Article 106 offers a striking example. Briefly put, this article provides that prior to the time the Security Council is ready to begin its peace-keeping functions under Articles 42 and 43, the five permanent members should consult with one another with a view to such joint action as may be necessary to maintain world peace. The great powers, in other words, were given the joint responsibility for maintaining peace, on a transitional basis, until the new organization was properly equipped to perform its functions in an effective manner.

But the split between the East and the West has not only hamstrung the Security Council; it has prevented giving effect to the transitional arrangement which was supposed to hold the line until the full organization could swing into action.

II. It is a confusing fact that the Charter makes no provision for its interpretation. In practice the organs and members of the UN are left free to interpret the various articles according to their own discretion. Consequently, any meaning that a pro-

vision of the Charter might reasonably have can prevail in any particular instance.

Voting in the Security Council—One of the most significant of these developments relates to the all-important question of voting in the Security Council. The language of Article 27, paragraph 3, seems quite clear. It provides specifically that for other than procedural matters decisions of the Security Council are to be made "by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

Does this mean that action cannot be taken by the Security Council unless it is concurred in by all five of the great powers? Does it mean when a permanent member abstains or is absent at the time the vote is taken that no decision can be reached? Certainly any strict construction of the Charter might lead to that conclusion.

Early in its history the Security Council took the position that an abstention or an absence of a permanent member did not constitute a negative vote. It was this liberal interpretation of the Charter, coupled with the absence of the Soviet representative from the meetings at the time, which paved the way for swift Security Council decisions when the Republic of South Korea was attacked in June, 1950.

At San Francisco the great powers agreed upon a very narrow interpre-

tation of "procedural" questions. For the most part these were the organizational matters referred to in Articles 28-32 of the Charter; the adoption of the rules of procedure of the Council, the selection of the President, the time and place of meetings, the establishment of subsidiary organs, etc. Beyond this point, argued the sponsoring governments in their statement of June 7, 1945, decisions of the Security Council might have "major political consequences," and accordingly would require the unanimous vote of the permanent members.

Since that time the General Assembly, in an attempt to narrow the area within which the veto applies, has been inclined to define procedural questions very broadly. On April 14, 1949, the General Assembly recommended to the Security Council that a long list of some thirty-one decisions be considered procedural and that the Council conduct its business accordingly. Included in the list were a number of decisions—such as the admission of states to UN membership—which had heretofore been considered substantive in character.

The distance between the narrow interpretation of the sponsoring governments at San Francisco and the liberal interpretation of the General Assembly is considerable. Since the Charter itself does not spell out the distinction between procedural and substantive questions, either of these

two interpretations could apply. There is great elasticity in this part of the Charter if the members wish to use it.

The Secretary-General—There has also proved to be considerable elasticity in the Charter provisions relating to the role of the Secretary-General in the United Nations. Articles 97-100 might leave the impression that his political functions were to be quite limited in scope. Only in Article 99, under which he may bring to the attention of the Security Council matters which in his opinion may threaten world peace is there any real grant of political initiative.

Yet, in fact, influence exercised by the Secretary-General has been one of the significant developments within the United Nations. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council—and still more important the Secretary-General himself—have taken a broad view of his functions. He has made statements before both bodies on a variety of questions, and he has undisputed authority to place any item he considers necessary on the General Assembly's provisional agenda. One has only to recall his vigorous role in the Korean crisis, and his attempts to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Soviet bloc and the free world, to understand the expanding nature of his political activities.

The General Assembly—Perhaps the most significant change in the Charter has taken place as a result

of the sharp shift in the balance of power between the Security Council and the General Assembly. During the past five years the Security Council, meeting less and less frequently, has faded into the background. The General Assembly, on the other hand, has played a more important role than was anticipated.

At San Francisco much emphasis was placed upon the Security Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace. It was to meet in continuous session. Armed forces were to be placed at its disposal. It could make decisions binding on all UN members. It was to be a small body capable of acting with dispatch in order to keep the peace.

The General Assembly was designed to be a much less powerful organ. It was scheduled to meet in regular annual sessions. It was to have no armed forces at its disposal. It could not make decisions—only recommendations. Its main weapon was discussion and debate.

As the Security Council has fallen into disuse, largely because of dissension among the great powers, the General Assembly has become a stronger and more vigorous organ. By various devices, including the creation in 1947 of the Interim Committee, or the so-called "Little Assembly," ways and means have been found to keep the General Assembly in virtually continuous session. Moreover, the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, which was approved in

1950 after the attack on Korea, geared the General Assembly to take quick action against an aggressor in the event the Security Council failed to exercise its responsibility for the maintenance of peace. Today, the General Assembly may be convened in emergency session in 24 hours.

III. The character of the Charter has also been changed as a result of numerous treaties and agreements which have been entered into by various member states. These agreements define in greater detail the general provisions of the Charter. They usually spell out in more specific form the rights and duties of member states and the powers and functions of UN organs. In some instances they lay down obligations and commitments which go beyond those contained in the Charter.

Most important, from the point of view of the future development of the UN are the changes that have taken place as a result of the conclusion of such agreements as the Brussels Treaty, the Rio Treaty, and the North Atlantic Pact. The United Nations Charter was designed to tackle the problem of collective security on a world-wide basis. That grand design soon proved inadequate. As a consequence, UN members who feared the threat of Soviet aggression were compelled to continue their quest for security in other directions. In such agreements as the Rio Treaty and the North Atlantic

Treaty they shifted their emphasis from universal collective security to security based on regional pacts and the idea of collective self-defense as expressed in Article 51.

Thus the United Nations is a very different organization from what it was eight years ago. Then it stressed the essential unity of all members against aggression anywhere. Now it is an organization within which groups of states are seeking to preserve the peace by uniting their strength in order to deter aggression from Communist sources.

IV. Somewhat akin to the conclusion of supplementary agreements, although of less constitutional significance, has been the creation of special organs within the UN system.

The Charter provides that both the General Assembly and the Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as are deemed necessary for the performance of their respective functions. (See Articles 22, 29.) A good many standing committees have been set up under the rules of procedure of the two bodies. In addition, a large number of committees and commissions have been established by resolution of the two parent organs to perform certain specific functions. Some of these are of a semipermanent nature, like the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, the International Law Commission, and the Disarmament Commission. Still others are *ad hoc*

bodies, like the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, the UN Special Committee on the Balkans, and the Palestine Conciliation Commission.

The subsidiary organs by no means have a free rein; rather, they are carefully hedged about by restrictions and limitations. They do not amend the Charter in any substantive way. Yet they do constitute a significant part of the Charter structure.

As the time for the review of the United Nations Charter approaches, those who are interested in determining whether the United Nations can become a more effective instrumentality for world peace will want to examine carefully the alternatives open to them. Should an effort be made to bring the Charter up to date through the formal amending process? Or would it be more prudent to wait upon the normal development of the Charter through informal adaptation and change?

In his book *War or Peace*, published in 1950, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles commented as follows:

"I have never seen any proposal made for collective security with 'teeth' in it, or for 'world government' or for 'world federation,' which could not be carried out either by the United Nations or under the United Nations Charter."

From *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, November, 1954. Used by permission.

Sanctuary

"THE LORD IS RISEN"

And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain (1 Cor. 15: 14).

Mid-century America has taken a new interest in things religious. Among the citable statistics is the fact that about 60 per cent of the total population claims membership in the Christian Church. The real test of Christian piety is found not in ecclesiastical statistics but in the righteousness of the people. There is no compelling evidence that this upsurge of religious interest has as yet made a discernible impact on the moral and ethical standards of our nation. However, to change the attitude and conduct of a people, or even of a person, is an assignment of a high order.

For a significant illustration of this kind of change, we may turn back the calendar about 2,000 years to a small group of men and women who had seen their beloved teacher crucified. They had hoped that he might be the one to bring in a new day of brotherhood and peace. He taught of love and righteousness in a way no man had ever taught before, and his life bore evidence of unprecedented godliness. However, he had offended those in power and they had quickly and quietly engineered his untimely death.

When his body was laid to rest in a nearby tomb, his whole cause appeared to have fallen. It seemed nonsense to expect deliverance from a dead Messiah. Fishermen who had left their nets to follow him now returned to their former way of life. Disciples on their way to Emmaus discussing these recent events remarked, "We had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel." That hope was now gone. A little group of women who came to the rock-hewn tomb early on the first day of the week came with heavy hearts, expecting only to perform the last ministries to a beloved teacher. Scripture provides no hint that anyone in the whole company anticipated in any way the incredible discovery they were about to make, a discovery that was to transform their lives and alter the whole course of subsequent history.

Precisely what happened will probably never be known, but this much is certain: those early followers of Jesus became aware that their Lord was living. God has raised him from the grave. Their forebodings had been groundless. The resurrection of Christ brought that early believing com-

munity to the certainty that love and righteousness triumphs even in a world of evil. When they saw their master, whose only offense was that "he went about doing good," nailed to a cross by sinners, it was natural that their hopes were dashed. How can one believe in the way of love when one who taught it and lived it so perfectly was brought to such a tragic end? Their disillusion is entirely understandable. The triumph of evil seemed total and complete. To this point it is a story of defeat, and if this were the end, little note would have been taken of it. But here the "good news" begins. This Jesus, who was crucified, was raised from the grave, and in this mighty act the power of sin and death was broken. God had intervened on the side of righteousness.

Though the cause of evil prosper,
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be wrong,
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above His own.

—James Russell Lowell

People who believe this are no longer the quaking victims of fear and despair; a defeatist Christian is a contradiction in terms.

Knowing their Lord was not dead, they found a new spirit within. They began more actively than ever to do his will, certain that he was with them. Thus it was that men who had no words to speak became irrepressible witnesses to a new truth. Those who had been callous to another's need sold their property for the common good. Social wrongs previously unchallenged were attacked by men bent upon turning the world upside down. Frightened fishermen became martyrs in their new-found faith. From this scattered and hopeless band of ordinary people the Church has moved out in a conquering march of love which will last to the end of time.

These were not extraordinary people, they were ordinary people who had given Christ the possession of their hearts. They were a people who knew the power of his resurrection, and though they be few in number, only such people shape the destiny of the world.

—Prepared by Edward K. Trefz, Associate Director of Adult Work, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education

Christian ACTION

IT CAN BE DONE

To the skeptics who want to be shown that there can be successful study groups in local churches, and to the cynics who say education gets you nowhere, we cite chapter and verse to document what women's groups did in Texas and Kansas. We begin with Texas—all big things start there.

Glowing interest in the 1954 social education and action study *The Church and the Community* was started within one community in October, 1953, by Mrs. Jesse Iwig, Texas Synodical secretary. In early January, 1954, the synodical SEA secretary sent four mimeographed programs on the subject to the small and rural churches. Seventy-four of the one hundred and ninety-two Presbyterian Women's Organizations studied *The Church and the Community* in circle meetings, and sixteen churches had a church-wide study. Some form of action was taken in thirty-seven different communities. Perhaps interesting stories could be related about all thirty-seven, but here is the follow-up action reported from ten communities.

- Youth centers were started.

- After listening to a county judge speak, a group presented the needs of the youth to the city council and the community hired a probation officer.

- Two communities got rid of harmful comic books.

- A drugstore agreed to quit selling sex magazines in one community.

- After hearing a speaker from the City Crime Commission Board, a group enlisted the interest of their husbands, and (although it meant higher taxes) sent a petition to the city council for more street lights and policemen. Many more street lights and policemen were provided.

- The Texas Council of Church Women was asked to name a Migrant Worker's Committee. The committee was appointed and it is at work.

- Presbyterian women in one community enlisted the co-operation of the United Church Women and made laundry facilities available to Mexican and Anglo-American families who were without running water in their homes. Sewing machines were also made available.

- A grocer agreed to sell only inspected meat.

- One group became interested in a Negro day nursery. It provided canvas and enlisted the men of the church to secure lumber to construct the cots. The shop department of the Negro high school took the material and made twenty-one cots and twenty-one chairs for the nursery.

- One women's group wrote to their Senators in Washington concerning Universal Military Training.

Lest our readers think Texas unique or extraordinary, Kansas Synodical has another kind of report for the record. Here are excerpts from the synodical secretary for Kansas, Mrs. Joe W. Ostenberg:

Reports for 1954 show an increase of organizations having a definite program of social education and action, as well as an increase in SOCIAL PROGRESS subscriptions. There was increased use of the social pronouncements of General Assembly, and of *Social Action in the Local Church*. There are 219 women's organizations in Kansas, and 210 of these reported to their presbyterial secretaries on their activities.

Many groups used the suggested circle study on *The Church and the Community*, which is encouraging, since it indicated a definite trend toward a co-ordinated program in line with national objectives. Many had programs covering other areas of social responsibility, including: race relations, narcotics, mental health, family relations, the United Nations.

Others studied political party platforms and the voting records of their Senators and Congressmen, SEA plays and films, and co-operated with local councils of church women.

Action resulting from these programs was many-sided and varied. This section was a most interesting part of the report. It definitely proved that a *good* program is not necessarily a *successful* program, but that a *successful* program must lead to some *action*!

Study was followed by "action," and some of the resulting "action" included:

- Co-operation with civic groups in community projects—such as the community park, public library, summer recreation program.
- Aid to the underprivileged.
- Representation at town meetings.
- Resolution to promote G. A. pronouncements among the church membership and to take church action on local problems.
- Writing letters to Congressmen on legislation limiting liquor advertising.
- Co-operation in sending the SEA secretary to the Churchmen's Washington Seminar.
- Taking action against the opening of a tavern.
- Sponsoring a displaced family.
- Co-operation in getting out the vote for state, general, and school election.
- Better city recreation and playgrounds.

•Investigation of city laws on social problems, and co-operation with other church groups in working for better laws to benefit its youth.

Attitudes and points of view were changed too. Some of the more intangible results of the study indicated: better understanding among church groups; greater willingness to assimilate people of foreign birth into the community life; deeper understanding of the local problems of Negro and Mexican groups; more interest in fellowship prayer meetings. The study caused also a noticeably increased faith, created a wider interest in community as well as church problems, and a greater awareness of the church's responsibility in community affairs.

These well-prepared reports give evidence of good working re-

lationships with the presbyterial secretaries and close working relationships between the presbyterial secretaries and local women's groups. Lines of communication are open. Synodical and presbyterial leaders have definite means of determining the effectiveness of their leadership education. They have specific data in hand to show success or failure. The same opportunities for communication with local groups and the same methods for reporting and appraising local efforts are available to every synodical secretary.

In our files at "830" we have folders for each presbytery and synod and each presbyterial and synodical. Some of the folders are bulging with reports and tangible evidence that the churches are alert and active. Other folders—are empty!

—Margaret E. Kuhn

UN NEWS NOTES

What is the status of the Covenants on Human Rights? When the Universal Declaration on Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, the Commission was instructed to proceed to draft two covenants—one on civil and political rights, one on economic, social, and cultural rights. This has been done and the first reading and general discussion of them came in the Ninth Assembly. These covenants have been sent to governments of both member and nonmember

states and to the specialized agencies, inviting them to send observations, additions, and amendments to the Secretary-General by July 1, 1956. They will again be considered in the Tenth Assembly (fall of 1956). Non-governmental organizations are invited to stimulate public interest by all possible means—a great opportunity for the Church.

Refugees Still—The largest refugee shelter ever undertaken by the UN Relief and Works Agency has been started in Jordan. Many thou-

sands who are still refugees will have new tents and huts, will live under better sanitary conditions and have better recreational facilities. Under the stimulus of this same agency thirteen young women, Palestine-Arab refugees, are in England taking nurses' training. How long must there be millions of refugees who could work and make homes for themselves?

FAO and Co-operation—FAO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, constantly seeks to improve the diets, living standards, and economic well-being of people everywhere. For example, a technical expert in Burma developed uses for forest species other than teak. These woods, which had been thought to be of little value, were sent to Europe, processed into prefabricated houses, and sent back to Burma.

Tanganyika and Kenya—Two UN agencies, WHO, the World Health Organization, and UNICEF, the Children's Fund, are assisting in malaria control in these two parts of Africa. WHO has loaned technical workers. UNICEF is providing equipment and supplies for a five-year campaign to cover areas where 94,000 people are affected. The per capita cost is estimated at thirty cents.

Technical Assistants in Yugoslavia—Skill-sharing is important. Canada has an expert helping to advise on use and maintenance of farm machinery. France has an expert

helping to introduce ways to develop the manufacture of plastic goods. The ILO (International Labor Organization) has sent instructors to improve techniques in various types of industry. A national veterinary service has been organized, and cotton growing has been greatly increased. A penicillin production plant is now at work, and a huge dam is making electric power available for homes and factories over a vast area. A splendid new film, *Yugoslavia Today*, is available, showing how one country is rebuilding by its own initiative plus UN aid.

Education in Liberia—Liberia is the first UN member nation to publish a textbook on the UN designed for school children. With the help of UNESCO a program of fundamental education is progressing. The specialists or technicians include a Belgian, an Indian, and a Frenchman. Fundamental education with them means education in the fundamentals of daily life and better living. By jeep, rafts, canoes, and on foot workers are covering the villages, and here are some of the results: Seven hundred boys and girls are getting an elementary education in 19 village schools; 8,150 men and women are receiving clinical aid and health instruction; hundreds are learning ways to produce more food, to have a better diet and market for more of their crops; scores of mothers are learning child care.

—Mabel Head, *UN observer*

★ *Citizenship* ★

☒ "There is a kind of informal and unadmitted coalition running the government today, with the 'moderate progressives' of both parties operating as the decisive majority. This does not end debate or contention, and so long as disputes make news, they will tend to dominate the front pages. But while these disputes are important, the developing area of agreement and understanding is more important. After years of contention, a new and better atmosphere is dominating the capital."

In the foregoing words James Reston, writing in *The New York Times* late in February, ably summarized the general situation in Washington today. There will be instances from time to time of political maneuvers to capture partisan advantage and solidify party lines. The Democratic tax-cut proposal, which was generating considerable heat in the Senate at press time, is one of these. And there will be others, but on the whole, the general atmosphere is encouraging.

UN Technical Assistance Program—As we go to press, reliable reports indicate that a House Appropriations subcommittee has slashed by fifty per cent the requested amount of \$8 million covering the U.S. contribution to the UN Technical Assistance Fund for the

first six months of 1955. Efforts are being made to reinstate these funds, but prospects of doing so are not too bright. The amount of \$8 million is being requested out of fiscal year 1955 funds as approximately one half of a proposed United States contribution toward the calendar year 1955 program.

This program, active in almost all the underdeveloped countries, was begun in 1950. In the beginning the United States contributed approximately 60 per cent of the fund. For 1954, the U.S. pledged about 57 per cent of the total, and is planning a progressive reduction to 50 per cent. All U.S. pledges through 1954 have been paid.

For calendar year 1954, about \$25.3 million was pledged by 73 countries. For calendar year 1955, 60 countries (exclusive of the U.S.) have pledged a total of approximately \$13 million in support of the 1955 program. Although the President announced his intention to request funds for this program, the U.S. was not able to formally "pledge" the contribution because of a Congressional appropriation proviso that "no commitment for the calendar year 1955 or thereafter shall be pledged on behalf of the United States until Congress appropriates for such purpose."

Since this program has been operating at a level of between \$20 and

\$25 million yearly, it has already become necessary to cut program plans substantially in 1955 because of a reduction in total funds available.

Federal Aid to Education—

Under mounting pressure, generated by dire need the country over, the Administration finally relented in its stand for a national fact-finding conference preliminary to submitting legislation in this field, and came up with a proposal.

The Administration's program is based primarily on a system of Federal loans to the states, although it would make available \$200 million in direct grants to enable states to take part in the program. Top educators are almost unanimous in opposition to the White House proposal, claiming that it offers "too little aid and too much control."

Despite admitted recognition of the necessity for prompt and effective action in alleviating the shortage of some 300,000 classrooms, there is no indication at press time that this will be forthcoming any time soon. The Senate committee has held hearings on several bills and seems to favor the one sponsored by Senator Hill (D., Ala.) and twenty-nine other Senators. This would give the states \$1 billion over a two-year period on a dollar-matching basis, subject to an equalization formula slanted in favor of states having the greatest need. No bill has been reported by the Senate committee as

we go to press, but sentiment seems to favor legislation patterned after the Hill bill with perhaps some minor amendments.

In the House, where the Education and Labor Committee has been notoriously unfriendly to general aid to education legislation, hearings opened on March 2. At press time, bills sponsored by Rep. Kearns (R., Pa.) and Rep. Bailey (D., W. Va.) seemed to be gaining favor with members of the committee, though hearings were still in progress. These bills do not stipulate a figure for the amount of grants-in-aid, but provide dollar-matching grants to the states with no provision for an equalization formula to states with the greatest need.

As we go to press, legislation in this field is further endangered by well-intentioned but dynamite-laden threats to tack on a prohibition against use of Federal funds in any state where segregated schooling still exists. In the words of *The Washington Post*: "[This] can result only in thwarting the aid which the public schools so urgently need. Neither integration nor education will be advanced by it."

Military Training Program—

With the Defense Department still endeavoring to convince the nation that its man-power program does not involve universal military training, and not succeeding very well, its three-point program has a score of

two down and one to go in the House of Representatives. No action on any of the program has been taken in the Senate.

The four-year extension of the draft sailed through the House by a 394 to 4 vote after only two days of "rush" hearings by the House Armed Services Committee. Floor debate was characterized by numerous references to world tensions and the necessity for the draft law "to prove to the world that the U.S. is not slackening its effort to be strong in the world as it is today." There was a determined drive to limit the extension to a two-year period, which lost by a vote of 153 to 62. Charging that Congress was putting too much authority in the hands of the "military" for too long a time, proponents of the two-year extension pointed out that Congress could quickly extend the law beyond 1957 in the event of an emergency.

The "incentive" pay increase for all the armed services, second point in the man-power program, represented as necessary to prevent the "disintegration of the hard core of the armed forces" has also passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 399 to 1. Effective immediately following its enactment into law it will add \$750 million per year to the present annual payroll of \$5 billion

for the armed forces. The bill literally romped to passage with only one half hour of the three-hour debating time being consumed. Urging passage of this legislation, the Defense Department claims that in 1954 the armed services experienced one of the lowest re-enlistment rates in history, dropping from a re-enlistment rate in 1949 of 41.2 per cent, to 11.6 per cent last year.


However, the last item in the three-point program has not fared so well. At press time, after a week of hearings, the House Armed Services Committee had rejected the Administration's compulsory reserve program and was busy drafting a voluntary plan of its own. Just what this will include is not certain, but it was said that the Committee is convinced that Congress will not approve a sweeping UMT program as sponsored by the American Legion.

The best information at present as to Senate action on this legislation is that the pay increase will be approved. There is some slight chance that with sufficient pressure from the country the draft extension could be limited to two years. As to the compulsory reserve program, that will probably be discarded for a voluntary plan of some sort.

—Helen Lineweaver,
Washington Office

Pending Trade Issues, 25 cents analyzes a few of the basic trade problems that will be before Congress this year. It provides good material for group discussion and suggestions for further reading. Order from League of Women Voters, 1026 17th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

About Books



Pioneer's Progress, by Alvin Johnson. The Viking Press, Inc., 1952. 413 pp. \$5.00.

Pioneer's Progress is the autobiography of one of America's top twentieth century social scientists, Alvin Johnson. Many professional reviewers have compared the book to such classics as Hamlin Garland's *Son of the Middle Border*. These comparisons are not exaggerated, as this is a brilliant and fascinating book. Dr. Johnson's recollection of his youth in Nebraska stands by itself as warm Americana of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Johnson's life in the twentieth century started as a college teacher of economics. His services and contributions, however, took him far outside the ivory towers into the boiling pots of America's social and economic problems. Three endeavors mark Dr. Johnson as one of the greats of our time: the editing of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, the building of a new educational concept and institution in the New School for Social Research, and his conservation of great human resources by creating the University in Exile during World War II.

Adventures in Politics, by Richard Neuberger. Oxford Univer-

sity Press, 1954. 210 pp., index. \$3.50.

The reviewer is compelled to call this new book of Richard Neuberger, Oregon's newly elected Senator, a must on the reading list of every Christian committed to an intelligent approach to social and political action.

Drawing on the experience of his wife and himself as state senators in Oregon, Neuberger has written these breezy but analytical essays on the weaknesses of state governments. And since it is in state capitals like Salem, Harrisburg, and Austin that church people must work toward their objectives, the book is a veritable blue book for amateur lobbyists and social education and action committees.

Precisely, the book is an entertaining account of the defeat of a loyalty oath bill, the impediments of state constitutions, the inequalities in the "rotten boroughs" of America, and many other legislative concerns. The appendix in itself offers great encouragement for those who are still afraid to get into the "dirty game" of politics.

—Ellis W. Roberts, President,
Wilkes-Barre Business College,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Guide to Community Action:

A Sourcebook for Citizen Volunteers. Mark S. Matthews. Harper & Brothers, 1954. 434 pp. \$4.00.

This is one of the most useful books for community planning the present reviewer has seen. It presents specific suggestions for community programs of sports and recreation, safety, health, welfare, religion, education, brotherhood, international relations, vocational guidance, the arts, conservation, government, labor-management co-operation, community development, and security. These subjects are treated in separate chapters, at the end of each of which is a list of pamphlets, films, counseling services, and other resources for community groups. These "Sources of Aid" are an outstanding feature of this extremely interesting book.

One section of four chapters discusses an effective community organization—membership, officers, and committees; meetings; financial administration, fund-raising; public relations. There is much useful information in the appendixes—a comprehensive list of special days, weeks, and months; an outline of parliamentary procedure; sources of films and film information; a 16-session course in effective speech.

This is truly the most comprehensive book of its kind ever published. It is must reading not only for leaders of volunteer groups but also for

local public officials. The author is a practicing attorney in New York and a former National President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.



The United States in a Changing World: An Historical Analysis of American Foreign Policy, by James P. Warburg. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954. 496 pp. \$5.75.

Here is another splendid book from the pen of Mr. Warburg. As a banker and economist he is not supposed to write books, but this is his twentieth volume (including three books of verse). In the last eight years he has produced at the rate of one volume a year and each has been solid and prophetic.

The present volume is the result of sensitive and scholarly research. Mr. Warburg examines American foreign relations from colonial times to the present in terms not only of what happened, but of why it happened. He probes deeply into the pressures, both internal and external, that influenced the making of policy. He analyzes not only politics and economics, but also the changing moods of a people growing toward maturity. The author writes with deep appreciation of the achievements of our early statesmen and diplomats who made this country the greatest dynamic moral force in the world. He shows that later, having attained much self-sufficiency, independence, and prosperity, we "somehow lost

our wisdom, our skill in diplomacy and our moral influence in the world, permitting the ebullient of 'success' to submerge the common ideal and the common purpose and to dictate a policy often far from wise, and frequently executed with considerably less than adequate skill."

This is a splendid book for people who wish to acquire a background of knowledge on which to base their own judgments concerning the many difficult problems of today and tomorrow.

Bill of Rights Reader: Leading Constitutional Cases, comp. and ed. by Milton R. Konvitz. Cornell University Press, 1954. 591 pp. \$6.50.

Here is the last word on today's developments in civil rights and liberties as spoken by the highest court in our land.

We all remember the heated controversy over President Truman's attempts to seize the strike-shut steel mills under executive order in 1952, the question of the validity of the law under which the Communist Party leaders were convicted of conspiracy, the dispute over the rights of "captive audiences" in buses, the constitutionality of taking parochial school children to school in tax-supported buses.

In this skillfully edited book, some eighty such cases are brought together to present a rounded and up-to-date picture of current legal think-

ing in regard to the application of the brief paragraphs of our Constitution that are known as the "Bill of Rights." The opinions of the Court, with thoughtful concurring and dissenting opinions, have been brought together for the light they shed upon the significance of the controversies. Among opinions cited is that of the Supreme Court in the recent school segregation cases.

Milton R. Konvitz is on the faculty of Cornell University. He has been a student of constitutional law and political theory for many years, and has written several outstanding books in his field. The present book is one of a series, Cornell Studies in Civil Liberties.

Rainbow Round the World: A Story of UNICEF, by Elizabeth Yates. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1954. 174 pp. \$2.50.

This is the readable story of some of the work of the United Nations Children's Fund as seen through the eyes of an eleven-year-old American boy. He accompanied Miss Yates on a visit to UNICEF projects in Nicaragua, Bolivia, Japan, Philippine Islands, Thailand, India, Iran, Jordan, Greece, and Morocco. Miss Yates tells the story with sympathy and charm. The book is written for children and for their big brothers and sisters and their fathers and mothers. The illustrations by Betty Alden add much to the volume. —C. E.

How to Avoid a Problem

- Profess not to have the answer. This lets you out of having any answer.
- Say that we must not move too rapidly. This avoids the necessity of getting started.
- For every proposal, set up an opposite and conclude that the "middle ground" (no motion whatever) represents the wisest course of action.
- When in a tight place, say something that the group cannot understand.
- Say that the problem cannot be separated from other problems; therefore, no problem can be solved until all other problems have been solved.
- Ask what is meant by the question. When it is clarified, there will be no time left for the answer.
- Retreat into analogies and discuss them until everyone has forgotten the original problem.
- Explain and clarify over and over again what you have already said.
- Appoint a committee to study the issue.
- Conclude that you have all clarified your thinking on the problem, even though no definite conclusions have been reached.
- Point out that some of the greatest minds have struggled with this problem, implying that it does us credit to have even thought of it.
- Be thankful for the problem. It has stimulated our best thinking and has therefore contributed to our growth. It should get a medal.
- Carry the problem into other fields; show that it exists everywhere, hence is of no immediate concern.
- Look slightly embarrassed when the problem is brought up. Hint that it is in bad taste, or too elementary for mature consideration, or that any discussion of it is likely to be misinterpreted by outsiders.
- Find a face-saving formula (like "in the Pickwickian sense") that means nothing but that everyone will accept because he can read into it his own interpretation. This is the highest art of the good administrator.
- Say that we must wait until some expert can be consulted.

—Paul B. Diederich, *University of Chicago*

“Your Opinion Counts”

This twelve-page pamphlet is the best brief account we have seen of the important and necessary role which American citizens play in the process by which U. S. foreign policy is created. It is an excellent antidote to that deadly apathy which sees international affairs as something above and beyond the influence or understanding of the average citizen.

Because, as Secretary Dulles has said, “the effectiveness of foreign policy depends in large measure upon public understanding and support of it,” greater participation by individuals and groups (why not church groups?) in an exchange of views and information with the State Department is essential under our form of government.

Public apathy killed the League of Nations. Loud attacks by small numbers in the face of general public silence can kill the UN. “Your opinion counts even if you neglect to express it, because, in failing to say what you think, you lessen the likelihood of the course you favor being adopted.”

Seldom has so needed a piece of information been available for so little cost. Don't fail to get it and use it. May be ordered from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., 10 cents. It is Department of State Publication No. 5606.

Social Progress

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The Cynic's Corner



"Have you got something that won't give me cow-like complacency about the world.... I want to be concerned, stimulated, stirred, worried...."

—The Des Moines Register and Tribune Syndicate